881 /61 cont./
593 say: Let her be, for when she reaches puberty they will whip her."

881 129. In order to demonstrate that women must submit
538 to these traditional observances, the Pemón have a great number of stories and legends in which it is said, for example:

a) That a girl, during the days of the retreat, went to the river to get water and began to play with a little fish which was tickling her feet, without knowing that it was a disguised rató, and became pregnant to the astonishment of her parents, who knew that she had had no dealings with men. That was the origin of the legendary Apichauai.

b) That another girl in similar circumstances without thinking took down a birds' nest with its little eggs, which were not eggs of a bird but snake's eggs, as a result of which she became the mother of Aramarí, another legendary personage, half man and half snake.

c) That another girl in the same circumstances went to a bachaquero /evidently from bachaco, an antlike insect/ with other Indians at the time of the gathering of those and that she was eaten from the waist down by the keuchí, a kind of swallow which hunts bachacos at the time of their swarming and their egg-laying.

d) That another girl, who went to the river when the other Indians were poisoning fish with verbasco, began to prepare sakura and with the waste matter that she threw in the water caused such a disturbance among the mauaríes that they caused a great flood from which only a few were able to save themselves in the forks of trees, etc.

881 130. In this same period they customarily submit both
● 304 the boys as well as the girls to incisions, or papuek, with which they tattoo themselves, not for beauty but in order to pour into the said incisions vegetable substances so that they will be good hunters, so that they will be diligent, so that they will not fall from their mounts when riding, so that they will be good chewers of kachirí, so that they will be assiduous, etc.

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bo is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
301

154. (Glass) bead — kasuːru.

155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasuːru pəregaːnsa.

156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichiˀ.

157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriruka.

158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.

159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsaˀ, i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."

160. okōi-yeupə, i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.

161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasuːru-seke-katsaˀ.

● [304] 162. Tattooing — metaːmen

*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondoˀ. (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-
291 Grünberg) (u)mbaipon. (u)pon.

*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
291 huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
177 guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.

*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akɛmūi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50A [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they ●301 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichi?, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[822] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okõi-yeupa ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichi? is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great
177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichi?. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichi? in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 116 - Analyst]

[Text continues on p.154]

sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichi[9] is usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregamsa and the yaichi[9] are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasuru-pregamsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence. Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear. The most prized type of pendant, panadaino[9], and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[1], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[1] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

● 304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each check. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

302
304

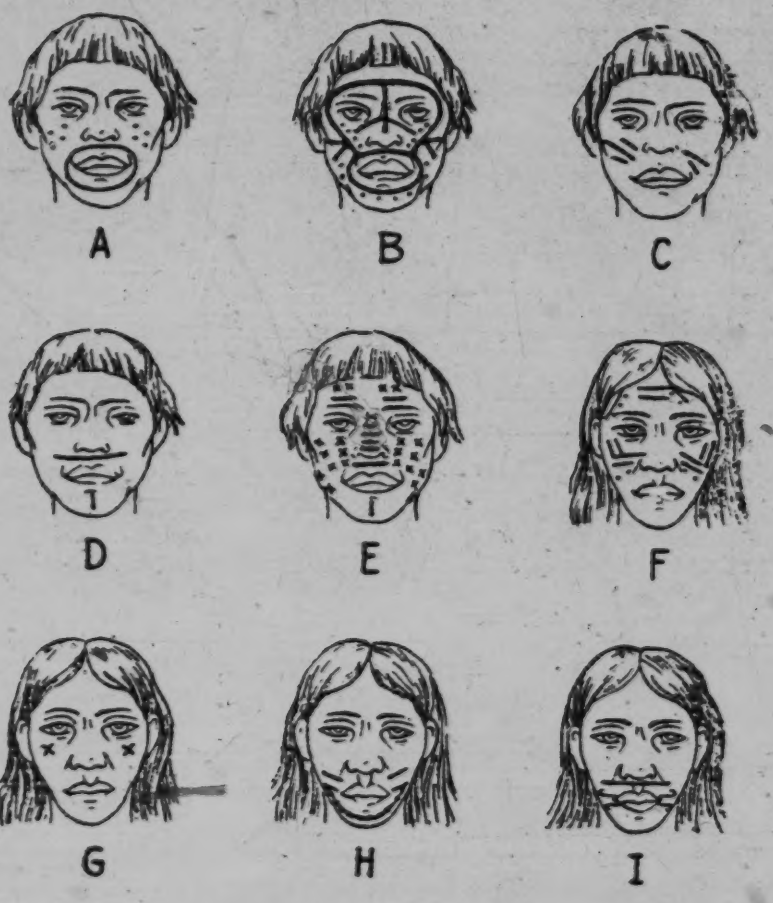

Fig. 34 — Arekuna Face Painting and Tattooing.
A - H, Kamarakotos. A, adolescent male, caruto painting. B, adolescent male, caruto painting. C, young boy, onoto painting. D, adult male, caruto painting. E, adult male, caruto painting, worn by drummer at dance. F, young female, whole face smeared with onoto and design applied over this with caruto. G, adult female, tattooing. H, adult female, tattooing. I, Taurepán, tattooed adult female with typical Taurepán hook pattern not seen among Kamarakotos.

224 Typical hunting magic with a
[273] maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib [824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the [304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed [829] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

778 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
77[illegible] Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[782] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[787] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [516] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

● 304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the stemum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. There were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.